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Which are Hamlet's 'Dozen or Sixteen Lines'?

BY W. T. MALLESON, B.A.,
UNIV. COLL., LONDON,

AND

J. R. SEELEY, M.A.,
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

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XII.

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(*Read at the eleventh Meeting of the Society, Friday, Dec.* 11, 1874.)

[In the following discussion, the suggestion that Hamlet's 'dozen or sixteen lines' occur in the long speech of the player-king is spoken of as if it were a new one. It occurred to me independently: and though I could scarcely believe that no one had thought of it before, yet the editions that happened to be within my reach knew nothing of it, and I found it to be new to all my Shaksperian friends, I now find that I was right in thinking that it could not possibly have been reserved for me to make such a discovery, and that the credit of it belongs to Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke, who published it long since in their annotated edition of Shakspere. I am happy to have learned this in time to save myself from even a momentary appearance of claiming what does not belong to me. Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke have also anticipated some of my arguments, as will be seen by their note, which I now reprint.—J. R. SEELEY, March 10, 1875.

Act III. Sc. ii. Speech of the player-king: 'Purpose is but the slave to memory,' to 'their ends none of our own.'

,,We have an idea that this is the passage 'of some dozen or sixteen lines' which Hamlet has proposed to 'set down and insert' in the play, asking the player whether he could 'study' it for the occasion. The style of the diction is markedly different from the remainder of the dialogue belonging to this acted play of 'The Murder of Gonzago'; and it is signally like Hamlet's own argumentative mode. 'This world is not for aye,' the thoughts upon the fluctuations of 'love' and 'fortune,' and the final reflection upon the contrary current of 'our wills and fates,' with the overthrow of our 'devices,' and the ultimate diversity between our intentions and their 'ends,' are as if proceeding from the prince himself. His motive in writing these additional lines for insertion, and getting the player to deliver them, we take to be a desire that they shall serve to divert attention from the special passages directed at the king, and to make these latter seem less pointed. We have fancied that this is Shakespere's intention, because of the emphatic variation in the style just here. Observe how very different are the mythological allusions to 'Phœbus,' 'Neptune,' 'Tellus,' 'Hymen,' 'Hecate,' and the stiff sentential inversions of 'about the world have times twelve thirties been,' 'discomfort you, my lord, it nothing must,' &c.; and, moreover, observe how exactly the couplet commencing the player-king's speech, 'I do believe,' &c., and the couplet concluding it, 'To think thou wilt,' &c., would follow on conjoinedly, were the intervening lines (which we suppose intended to be those written by Hamlet) not inserted.'—From *Cassell's Illustrated Shakespere*, edited by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, Vol. III. p. 415.]

I. *MR MALLESON'S ARGUMENT.*

Hamlet. Dost thou hear me, old friend; can you play the murther of Gonzago?
1 *Player.* Ay, my lord.
Hamlet. We'll have't to-morrow night. You could, for a need, study *a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines,* which I would set down, and insert in't? could you not?
1 *Player.* Ay, my lord.—*Hamlet,* Act II. Sc. ii. (lines 562-9).

A SHORT time ago appeared in the *Academy,* a statement written by Mr Furnivall, that Professor Seeley had suggested that the 'dozen or sixteen lines,' inserted by Hamlet in the sub-play of the 'Murder of Gonzago,' might be found in the following speech of the Player-King, Act III. Sc. ii. :—

I do believe, you think what now you speak; 196
But, what we do determine oft we break.
Purpose is but the slave to memory;
Of violent birth, but poor validity: 199
Which now, like fruit unripe, sticks on the tree;
But fall unshaken, when they mellow be.
Most necessary 'tis that we forget
To pay ourselves what to ourselves is debt: 203
What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose.
The violence of either grief or joy
Their own enactures with themselves destroy; 207
Where joy most revels, grief doth most lament,
Grief joys, joy grieves, on slender accident.
This world is not for aye; nor 'tis not strange
That even our loves should with our fortunes change; 211
For 'tis a question left us yet to prove,
Whether love lead fortune, or else fortune love.
The great man down, you mark, his favourite flies;
The poor advanc'd makes friends of enemies. 215
And hitherto doth love on fortune tend:
For who not needs shall never lack a friend;
And who in want a hollow friend doth try
Directly seasons him his enemy. 219
But, orderly to end where I begun,—
Our wills and fates do so contrary run,
That our devices still are overthrown:
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own: 223
So think thou wilt no second husband wed;
But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead. 225

These are very interesting lines, but they reflect, as Gervinus points out, not upon the murdering usurping King, but upon Hamlet himself; if they are those Hamlet wrote, we find him turning aside

from the immediate purpose of the player's performance, which was to 'catch the conscience of the King,' in order to brood over his own character, and in words of his own to point the moral of the play of *Hamlet* :—

> But what we do determine oft we break.
> Purpose is but the slave to memory;
> Of violent birth, but poor validity.

And again :—

> Our wills and fates do so contrary run,
> That our devices still are overthrown :
> Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.

One must confess, that there would be nothing foreign to Hamlet's character in thus suddenly putting aside action for disquisition; yet when he is eagerly ordering the performance of the Murder of Gonzago for 'to-morrow night,' the earliest possible time, and adds :—'You could for a need, study a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines which I would set down and insert in't?', it is difficult to believe that he is only anxiously seeking an opportunity of dissertating upon man's feebleness of purpose :—

> What to ourselves in passion we propose,
> The passion ending doth the purpose lose.

And on this point we are not left to conjecture only; the terrible soliloquy beginning, 'Now I am alone, O what a rogue and peasant slave am I,' immediately follows his interview with the players, and shews clearly what was in his mind, when he proposed his addition to the play.

> About my brains! I have heard,
> That guilty creatures, sitting at a play,
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul, that presently
> They have proclaimed their malefactions;
> For murther, though it have no tongue, will speak
> With most miraculous organ. I'll have these players
> Play something like the murther of my father,
> Before mine uncle: I'll observe his looks;
> I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench,
> I know my course. The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil: and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and, perhaps,
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy
> (As he is very potent with such spirits),

Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds
More relative than this: The play's the thing,
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.

The plot of this play already resembled the black crime that had been revealed to Hamlet alone, and his hope was that his lines might drive the dreadful resemblance home to the very heart of the murderer, so that the guilty creature sitting at the play might if possible be driven to proclaim aloud his 'malefaction,' or, if not that, at least so to lose self command as to betray his guilt to the eyes which would be 'rivetted to his face.'

How important, for this end, the speech was, we may learn from Hamlet's special instructions to the players for its delivery:—

Speak *the speech*, I pray you, *as I pronounced it to you*, trippingly on the tongue: but if you mouth it, as many of you players do, I had as lief the town-crier had spoke *my lines*. Nor do not saw the air too much—your hand thus: but use all gently: for in the very torrent, tempest, and (as I may say) the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul, to see a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows and noise: I could have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it out-herods Herod: pray you, avoid it.

From this, too, we may gather something of the nature of the lines; there was in them for certain the torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion, a passion which Hamlet was very anxious that no robustious periwig-pated actor should be allowed to tear to tatters; and if this be, as I think, beyond a question, let the reader consider whether in the philosophic lines suggested by Professor Seeley, even the most 'robustious' fellow could find anything of passion, with which 'to split the ears of the groundlings.'

Take now the conversation with Horatio just before the play commences. Hamlet says:—

There is a play to-night before the king;
One scene of it comes near the circumstance
Which I have told thee of my father's death.
I prithee, when thou seest that act a foot,
Even with the very comment of thy soul
Observe mine uncle: if his occulted guilt
Do not itself unkennel in *one speech*,
It is a damned ghost that we have seen,
And my imaginations are as foul

As Vulcan's stithe. Give him heedful note :
For I mine eyes will rivet to his face ;
And, after, we will both our judgments join
To censure of his seeming.

If the remainder of the play of *Hamlet* had by some calamity been lost and it stopped here, would any one have doubted that this 'one speech' in this 'one scene' must have been the speech of Hamlet's writing?

When the time of the representation approaches, Hamlet, in terrible suppressed excitement, lies down among the audience at Ophelia's feet, and seems to relieve the tension of his mind by gross and bitter jesting. Such words from Hamlet, the prince and scholar to poor Ophelia, who had 'sucked the honey of his music vows,' appear at first almost inexplicable. It is quite insufficient to say that the license of that age admitted expressions which would be shocking now ;—No other lover in Shakspere uses such language ; Rosalind, Juliet, Miranda are quite otherwise addressed. Nor can I endure to find here any support for Goethe's theory, that the strong defence of perfect purity was at all wanting to her who had been Hamlet's 'soul's idol.' We must remember that at this moment Hamlet's heart is full of the infidelity of his mother as well as of the murder of his father. Even before he had learnt from the Ghost the full measure of his mother's guilt, he had said in his anguish at her marriage within a month—'a little month'—after his father's death, 'Frailty thy name is, woman ;' and when the Ghost has left him he first apostrophises her, 'O most pernicious woman,' and puts the murderer, 'the smiling damned villain,' in the second place. His mother has destroyed his faith in every woman, he believes virtue to be 'as wax,' he separates from Ophelia, and bids her enter a nunnery ; and now, when in spite of himself he feels her attractions and lies down at her feet, he reminds himself by insults and coarse jokes of the frailty and corruption of women.

But let us go on to the performance itself ; it begins, as did the old moralities, with a dumb show :—

Enter a King and a Queen, very lovingly ; the Queen embracing him. She kneels and makes show of protestation unto him. He takes her up, and declines his head upon her neck ; lays him down upon a bank of flowers ; she,

seeing him asleep, leaves him. Anon comes in a fellow, takes off his crown, kisses it, and pours poison in the King's ears, and exit. The Queen returns; finds the King dead, and makes passionate action. The poisoner, with some two or three mutes, comes in again, seeming to lament with her. The dead body is carried away. The poisoner woos the Queen with gifts; she seems loath and unwilling awhile, but, in the end, accepts his love. (Exeunt.)

'Anon comes in a fellow, takes off his crown, kisses it, and *pours poison in the King's ears.*' Here beyond doubt we have the "one scene" coming near the circumstance of the death of Hamlet's father as the Ghost describes it:—

'Sleeping within mine orchard,
My custom always in the afternoon,
Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole,
With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,
And in the porches of mine ears did pour
The leprous distilment.'

In fact the parallel is so exact as to make one suspect that Hamlet altered the manner of the murder in the old play to make it tally precisely with the awful secret fact. If not, it is strange that so odd, if not impossible, a way of committing murder should have occurred in both the plays.

Here then I believe we should look for Hamlet's addition, the "one speech," the crisis of his plot, and it is here during the representation that his excitement becomes painfully intense, and almost uncontrollable, so that, when Lucianus the murderer enters, Hamlet at Ophelia's feet strangely interrupts, calling aloud:—

This is one Lucianus, nephew to the King.

Although interruptions of 'poor players' by gallants of the Court and great people were in those times common enough, one can hardly help pausing to commiserate the actor thus unexpectedly greeted by his patron at the important moment of his first entrance. Lucianus is the principal character of the piece, the Villain on whose daring crime and ready smooth-faced plausibility the plot turns, and is doubtless the part that would have been given to the leading tragedian, probably to the very actor who had previously so finely recited Æneas' description of the rugged Pyrrhus, and of whom Hamlet, an excellent judge of acting, said that he

Could force his soul so to his own conceit,
That from her working all his visage wanned;
Tears in his eyes, distraction in's aspect,
A broken voice, and his whole function suiting
With forms to his conceit.

Well, Lucianus, recovering as he best might from the abrupt announcement of his name and quality, proceeds with the business of his part, taking off the crown (as above) from the sleeping king, kissing it, and exerting himself so to force his soul that all his visage might wear a murderous aspect, when Hamlet, now in the very agony and fever of his impatience, interrupts him again, with :—

Begin, murderer; leave thy damnable faces and begin. Come ;—
The croaking raven
Doth bellow for revenge.

Then Lucianus, thus adjured, with all the self-possession he can retain, does begin :—

Thought black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing;
Confederate season, else no creature seeing:
Thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected,
With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected,
Thy natural magic and dire property,
On wholesome life usurp immediately.
(*Pours the poison into the sleeper's ears.*)

Hamlet (*interrupting again*).
He poisons him i' the garden for his estate. His name's
Gonzago; the story is extant, and writ in choice Italian:
You shall see anon, how the murtherer gets the love of
Gonzago's wife.

Ophelia. The king rises.
Hamlet. What! frighted with false fire!
Queen. How fares my lord?
Pol. Give o'er the play.
King. Give me some lights—away!
All. Lights, lights, lights!
[*Exeunt all but Hamlet and Horatio.*]

Hamlet. Why let the stricken deer go weep,
The hart ungalled play;
For some must watch, while some must sleep;
So runs the world away.

Would not this, Sir, and a forest of feathers (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me), with two Provincial roses on my razed Shoes, get me a fellowship in the cry of players, Sir?

Horatio. Half a share.
Hamlet. A whole one,—ay.

And then again :—

Hamlet. O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound. Didst perceive ?
Horatio. Very well, my lord.
Hamlet. *Upon the talk of the poisoning.*
Horatio. I did very well note him.

It is of course to the startling dramatic success of his play-altering in piercing the King's conscience that Hamlet refers when he jestingly says that it would get him a fellowship in a cry of players. The playwright who would tinker old plays as well as write new, was in Shakspere's time a very valuable member of a company of players, and certainly the interpolated passage containing 'the talk of the poisoning' had had a wonderful effect.

I submit then that Hamlet's addition to the play begins with the speech of Lucianus. It contained probably more than the half dozen lines which were all Lucianus was able to deliver before Hamlet a third time interrupted him, and the King rose frighted with false fire. After the murder, and before the entrance of the Player Queen, was Lucianus perhaps to drop some words hinting at his next aim, the seduction to a sudden second marriage of that 'seeming virtuous queen ?' Were perhaps fear and horror at finding himself at last an actual murderer to take possession of his soul ? Whence are those strange words of Hamlet, 'The croaking raven doth bellow for revenge,' which he seems to utter as a sort of cue to Lucianus, and yet they are not in Lucianus' short speech ? Were they part of Hamlet's own lines, which were to be subsequently uttered, but which came whirling first to their author's excited brain ? If so, even if it were certainly so, it would be 'to consider too curiously' to endeavour to reconstruct any of the never-delivered portion of the speech. But wherever the words come from [1] —from Hamlet's unspoken lines, or, as is more probable, from some

[1] Mr F. J. Furnivall thinks these words may be an allusion to the Old Hamlet noticed in Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596, 'the ghost which cried so miserably at the theater like an oister wife, "*Hamlet revenge*,"' and says the player would catch the reference at once. Mr Richard Simpson, on the other hand, considers the allusion to be to two lines in the old play, *The True Tragedy of Richard III.*, 'The screeking Raven sits croking for Revenge ; Whole heads of beasts comes bellowing for Revenge.'

old play in the Pistol vein, known to the public then, lost now—what Hamlet means by them is plain enough. The Ghost is again present to his mind. The Spirit whom he has doubted cries out once more for revenge. In a moment the murderer will be put to the question, to moral torture, all will be clear, and Hamlet 'know his course.' At such a crisis the actor's delay, however artistic, is intolerable; he shouts to him to begin, that he may be certain of his Uncle's guilt and sweep to his revenge.

Remember, too, that the Raven is the Danish typical bird, and therefore no unfit emblem of 'the majesty of buried Denmark;'—as fitting at any rate, one might urge, if driven hard, as 'True penny,' 'Old Mole,' and 'Fellow in the Cellarage.'

The plot succeeds, the murderer discloses himself, the ghost is believed; but Hamlet fails, and in the next scene but one the Ghost re-appears visibly to his 'tardy son':—

> Do not forget; this visitation
> Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.

Lastly, is there in the lines themselves anything to make us say, 'Not by Hamlet?' The style is certainly stiff, cumbrous, and loaded with adjectives, but Hamlet would naturally try to imitate the stilted style of the rest of the play as in its first lines:—

> *Player King.* Full thirty times hath Phœbus' cart gone round
> Neptune's salt wash, and Tellus' orbed ground;
> And thirty dozen moons with borrow'd sheen,
> About the world have times twelve thirties been;
> Since love our hearts, and Hymen did our hands,
> Unite commutual in most sacred bands.

And one may even add that Hamlet himself in his letter 'to the celestial and my souls idol the most beautified Ophelia,' shows that he did not use to shrink from a string of adjectives even when they led him to so ill a phrase as 'most beautified.'

Of one thing we may be certain, that the great Master did not write at random, and that since he lays so much stress upon Hamlet's inserted lines, refers to them so often, and makes so much of the plot turn upon them, his own intention in the matter must have been perfectly clear to himself.

If this be so, they ought with due patience to be discoverable by

us. I shall be glad if I am thought to have contributed something to the true solution of a little problem which if not important is at least interesting.

W. T. MALLESON.

II. *PROFESSOR SEELEY'S COMMENTS ON MR MALLESON'S PAPER, AND ON THE PLAY.*

MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

YOU will remember that I did not pronounce any particular passage in the sub-play to be the '12 or 16 lines' of Hamlet. What I did was simply to say, in conversation with you, that I thought I knew which the lines of Hamlet were, and to ask you to try whether you could not identify them also. You did try, and laid your finger at once upon the very lines I had in view.[1] I mention these facts for two reasons. First, because I think my identification of secondary importance, compared to my observation that here is a Shaksperian problem which has been overlooked,[2] that Shakspere evidently meant us to ask which the '12 or 16 lines' were, and that apparently no one (except Mr and Mrs C. Clarke) has thought of doing so. Secondly, the identification gains a good deal of probability from the fact that two persons—who did not know of Mr and Mrs C. Clarke's note—made it without any concert.

I acknowledge a good deal of weight in some of Mr Malleson's objections, but I think I can answer them, and they have not shaken my opinion.

Let me begin by stating the case in favour of the '12 or 16 lines' being some of those which make up the long speech of the Player-King that begins:—

> I do believe you think what now you speak!

In all such discussions there is great danger of running too much into mere speculation and conjectural interpretations of character.

[1] This was mainly because Professor Seeley had also told me that the lines contained Hamlet's explanation of his own character.—F. J. F.

[2] Except by Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke ; see p. 466.

For this reason I think it most important at the outset to consider what characteristics the inserted speech we are in search of *must necessarily* have in order that we may not have recourse to conjecture at any rate sooner than is necessary.

There are two such characteristics, then.

(1) It must consist of some 12 or 16 lines.

(2) Being an insertion, it must be such a speech as can be removed without affecting the action of the play.

Now these two characteristics belong to the passage above referred to, and to that passage alone. The speech of the Player-King consists in all of 30 lines. The next longest speech, that beginning 'So many journies may the sun and moon,' consists of only twelve. It is evidently part of the plan that the sub-play should be written in short speeches, for Hamlet is made to ridicule the extreme shortness of the prologue, 'as brief as woman's love!'

This single long speech is therefore conspicuously exceptional. It cannot all be spared—the Player-King must by the necessity of the position say something to the same effect—and if it could all be spared it could hardly be the insertion, for it would be too long, 30 lines instead of 12 or 16. But it is quite easy to spare about that number of lines from the middle of it, and such a retrenchment would bring the speech to about the average length of the speeches in the sub-play.

As this passage not only answers the conditions, but is the only passage which does, it might seem unnecessary to add another word. But this assumes that Hamlet's insertion is actually to be found at full length in the sub-play as it is acted. Now of course it is possible, as the sub-play is interrupted in the acting, that the passage in question belongs either entirely to the part which was unacted, or partly so, that is, that the speech which was interrupted by the rising of the King would, if it had not been so interrupted, have extended to 12 or 16 lines. This latter is Mr Malleson's theory, and as I admit it to be not impossible, we must look for additional evidence.

This brings us to the question, whether the passage whose claims I support answers the other probable conditions as well as I have

shown that it answers the two necessary conditions. Is it such an insertion as Hamlet would be likely to make either from the object he has in view, or, if we must enter into that, from his character?

Now one part of this question, and that the most difficult part, we can fortunately answer at once. It is admitted by Mr Malleson that the lines in question are strikingly in the character of Hamlet, so strikingly that, in fact, he calls them a dissertation on Hamlet's character. I do not think they are that; I think they are a dissertation on his mother's character; but, then, they are just such a dissertation as Hamlet would write, for they explain her weakness by those general reflections about the changeableness of human purpose, and the feebleness of human conviction, which are so usual with him. I think there can be no doubt that if we wished to select from the sub-play the lines most characteristic of Hamlet we should fix on these without a moment's hesitation.

But the speech may answer very well to Hamlet's general character, and yet not be such as to serve the particular purpose with which he inserts a speech.

This is the main point in Mr Malleson's argument, and it seems at first sight a strong objection—'Hamlet's object in inserting a speech is to charge the King with murder, to draw the moral of the play, and drive it home upon the King's conscience. The speech in question, however in other respects it may be suitable to Hamlet's character, cannot be the speech inserted by him, because it does nothing of this kind.'

Now it is evident enough that Hamlet's object in having the play acted is to work upon the King's conscience and bring out his guilt; but how does it appear that this is the object with which he inserts the speech?

Mr Malleson says, 'The plot of the play already resembled the black crime that had been revealed to Hamlet alone, and his hope was that his lines might drive the resemblance home to the very heart of the murderer.' Certainly Hamlet hoped that the play would have this effect; but where does Mr Malleson find that he hoped *his lines* would have this effect? Mr Malleson puts this as if it were a

matter of course, but if he will reflect I think he will find that he has taken it for granted without any reason.

I cannot imagine how it could occur to Hamlet that there was any occasion for inserting a speech with this object. The play might surely be trusted to do its own work. The King's conscience was to be worked upon by a representation of an action of which not only the results and motives were similar, but which was in itself actually identical with that committed by himself. He had murdered his sleeping brother by pouring poison into his ear; he is now to see poison poured into the ear of a sleeping uncle on the stage. I cannot imagine how any speech could make the application plainer. The hint was surely broad enough; in fact, it seems a little too broad, for it is difficult to understand how the King could allow matters to go so far, and why he did not break up the play as soon as the dumb show had informed him what the action was to be.

Has Shakspere, then, said anywhere that the inserted speech had this object? Mr Malleson quotes one expression, which looks no doubt a little like it:—

> If his occulted guilt
> Do not itself discover *in one speech*,
> It is a damned ghost that we have seen, &c.

This 'one speech' does no doubt remind us of the 'speech that I would set down and insert in it,' but after all why should it be this particular speech more than any other? I confess I think it can be shown not to be by the method of 'reductio ad absurdum.' For this 'one speech' in which the King's guilt discovers itself is the speech beginning:—

> Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing.

Now it is impossible that this speech, at least as it stands, can be the inserted speech, for it satisfies none of the conditions. It is not 12 or 16 lines, but only six; it is not an inserted speech, but it belongs essentially to the action, and the play could not exist without it. Mr Malleson, seeing this, tries to represent these six lines, not exactly as the inserted speech of Hamlet, but as the beginning of it, and supposes that the rest would have followed had

not the King broken up the play. It is impossible to suppose exactly this, for the six lines in question form only one sentence, and must therefore belong entirely to the play itself in its original form, unless we suppose, what I think no one will suppose, that the murder was to be done in dumb show. We must therefore imagine, not part of Hamlet's inserted speech, but the whole of it, to have been broken off by the King's rising, and if so it turns out after all that the King's guilt is not discovered by Hamlet's inserted speech, but by lines coming just before it. This seems to me a conclusive proof that the 'one speech' in the passage above quoted is not to be identified with the 'speech of 12 or 16 lines, which I would set down and insert in it.'

Thus there remains no reason at all for supposing that the object of Hamlet's inserted speech was to work upon the King's conscience. Mr Malleson seems to have been led to take it for granted by the rout Hamlet makes about his anxiety to be quite sure of the King's guilt, to be quite sure that the ghost is not a tempter. He pictures Hamlet as in a state of wild excitement throughout the scene, as having his thoughts intensely fixed upon this question of the murder, and therefore he thinks it revoltingly improbable that in this state of mind Hamlet should write a speech not about the murder at all, but on his mother's fickleness. But surely I am not singular in believing that these professions of Hamlet are not to be taken seriously. His misgivings that the ghost may be a tempter, that the King may not be guilty after all, are just like his resolution later in the play, not to kill the King at a moment when he will be likely to go to heaven, mere pretences intended to excuse delay and inaction. He is no doubt interested in watching the effect of his experiment upon the King's mind, and very triumphant when it proves successful, but I do not believe that his thoughts are absorbed by that subject in the way Mr Malleson supposes. In fact I take a very different view of the state of his mind. It seems to me that Shakspere takes great pains to impress upon us that the uncle's guilt and the duty of punishing it are an annoying subject with Hamlet, that they weigh upon his mind without interesting it, and that his only desire is to postpone and keep at arm's length everything connected

with them. Hamlet complains that he cannot feel proper resentment for 'a dear father murdered,' that the player is more interested in an imaginary Hecuba than he in such a dreadful reality, and he tries to rouse himself into a passion by violent abuse of his uncle. But you see how artificial the language is, and that his real feeling for his uncle is only contempt, that he regards him simply as a vulgar knave, whom there is no satisfaction in thinking about, and no comfort even in hating. So far from supposing that the inserted speech ought by rights to be about this uncle, I should be very much puzzled to find that Hamlet's private reflections had been so much occupied about him, as would be implied in his writing 12 or 16 lines about him, to make clear what was already as clear as the day, or to 'bring home,' as Mr Malleson says, what was brought home already.

But is there no subject about which Hamlet feels strongly in which we can believe him to be so much interested as to write verses on it? Certainly there is, and it is precisely the subject with which the lines I identify with Hamlet's inserted speech deal; namely, the conduct of his mother. It is this which really fills his mind, and it is because he is so intensely pre-occupied with this, that he is so languid about what he feels ought to engage his attention more. Before even he suspected his uncle's guilt, before the appearance of the ghost, he is shown to us so much depressed as to think of suicide on account of his mother's levity; and when he has his mother face to face with him he shows an energy and vehemence we might have thought foreign to his character. As Mr Malleson very truly says, it is his mother who, by putting him out of humour with all women, causes him to behave so strangely to Ophelia, and the coarseness of his language to her in this very scene shows that he is brooding on the subject at this particular moment. It is, then, I maintain, *à priori*, most likely, from what we know of Hamlet's feelings, that this would be the subject of his inserted speech.

But we must consider Shakspere's objects as well as Hamlet's. Supposing the speech to be on the subject of the murder, even if it answered Hamlet's purpose, it was of no use to the poet. It would

be merely an additional means, very superfluous as I think, of exposing the King's guilt; about Hamlet's character and views, it would tell us nothing that we did not know before; it would not help the poet forward at all in his difficult exposition. Quite otherwise if the speech dealt with the mother, not with the uncle; then it has point; then we understand why the poet introduces it. It is a broad hint to the reader, and it was important to multiply such hints as much as possible, that we are not to trust Hamlet's professions, that the experiment of the play, with all its parade of ingenuity and the vengeance which is to follow the King's exposure, is a mere blind by which he hides both from himself and from Horatio that he does not intend to act at all, and that he means to go on as he has begun, brooding interminably upon the frailty of his mother, the probable frailty of Ophelia, and the worthlessness of all women.

Notice that when the speech which I call Hamlet's insertion and the Player-Queen's short answer to it have been delivered, Hamlet turns to his mother and says, 'Madam, how like you this play?' This I take to be Shakspere's quiet hint to the reader that he is to mark these speeches especially, and that there is something particular in them.

To sum up, then, my case is this :—

(1) In the long speech of the Player-King may be found a passage of '12 or 16 lines.'

(2) This passage can be omitted without damage to the action.

(3) No other such passage can be found in the sub-play, so that those who reject this passage are driven to the shift of supposing that Shakspere after promising us such a passage and leading us to expect it has not given it.

(4) The passage suits Hamlet's general character better than any other in the sub-play. This is admitted by Mr Malleson.

(5) It suits Hamlet's views and feelings at the moment, which are occupied only secondarily with his uncle's guilt, primarily with his mother's misconduct.

(6) The insertion of it serves an object of the poet by showing more clearly the doubleness of Hamlet's conduct, and that while he

was forced reluctantly by a sense of duty in one direction, his feelings and reflections were flowing irresistibly in another.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. SEELEY.

III. *MR MALLESON'S REJOINDER TO PROF. SEELEY'S COMMENTS.*

MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

MR SEELEY'S reply to my paper is a striking one, but I cannot give way, so you must allow me a brief reply.

Mr Seeley says that there are two 'necessary' characteristics for the speech; it must consist of some 12 or 16 lines; and being an insertion it must be such a speech as can be removed without affecting the action of the play. I think this is somewhat strained. Hamlet never says he *has written* a passage of so many lines and inserted it. If he had said so the matter would be simpler. We only know that he *intended to write* and insert some lines of the number of which he was not himself certain, '12 or 16.' When he sat down with the play before him he may have written 20 or 26, and indeed, if I accepted the Player-King's speech as partly Hamlet's, I should claim for him all of it, except only the two first and two last lines, which, omitting the intervening 26, still go fairly together:—

I do believe you think what now you speak	1
But what we do determine oft we break.	2
So think thou wilt no second husband wed,	28
But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.	30

And altho' Mr Seeley says that it is quite easy to spare about 12 or 16 lines from the middle of this speech, he does not tell us, as I think he should do, which lines he fixes upon, that we might judge how far they do bear upon the conduct and character of Hamlet's mother.

Again, I do not see why the inserted lines must be such as can be removed without affecting the action of the play; may not Hamlet have inserted his lines in substitution for others which he

struck out? If so Mr Seeley's argument against 'Thoughts black, hands apt, etc.,' because necessary to the action of the piece, will fall to the ground.

But the most important part of Mr Seeley's paper, to my mind, is his defence of the passage he has selected on the ground that it refers to the guilt of Hamlet's mother, and describes her character. He believes Hamlet to have been intensely pre-occupied with this subject, to the exclusion of that duty of revenging his murdered father, as to which he had sworn that it alone should live within the book and volume of his brain unmixed with baser matter. Now let us look at the lines to test this view of them. We may dismiss, as above, the two first and two last lines on Mr Seeley's own theory. The next eight,[1] from 'Purpose is but the slave to memory,' describe feebleness and vacillation of purpose. What men propose to themselves under the influence of passion they forget when the passion is over, and do not execute. Where in Hamlet's mother do we find this feeble vacillation? Morally weak she certainly was, but not, I think, one of the cowards of conscience. Having allowed her love to be won by her husband's brother during her husband's life-time, she suppresses any outward sign of the agonies of conscience, and continues quietly with her betrayed but unsuspecting lord until his sudden death (she is not privy to the murder), and then, within a month of the funeral, without any vacillation at all, gives her hand to her paramour. And just as no outward sign of flattering or remorse on her part awakened suspicion in her first husband, so now to all appearance she was prepared to lead a serene respectable dignified life, had it not been for the moodiness and melancholy of Hamlet. An easily led woman she appears to me, not introspective, not given to searchings of conscience; the very reverse of her son, whom the description so well fits.

[1] Purpose is but the slave to memory;
Of violent birth, but poor validity;
Which now, like fruit unripe, sticks on the tree;
But fall unshaken, when they mellow be.
Most necessary 'tis that we forget
To pay ourselves what to ourselves is debt:
What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose.

The next four[1] lines, 'The violence of either grief or joy,' etc., describe satirically how easily men pass from joy to grief, or from grief to joy, on slender accident. They deal, we should remember, with joy and grief really felt, although shallow, not with feigned feeling. The application is to the Player-Queen, whose future the dumb show has sketched for us. It does not at all fit the case of Hamlet's mother, whose grief at the death of his father could not, *as Hamlet now well knew*, have been violent; she may have followed his body like Niobe, all tears, but her sorrow was feigned, her thoughts upon the new marriage. Had Hamlet wished to launch a dart at her, he would have satirized the vice of hypocrisy, not the quick change from violent grief to joy. The 10[2] succeeding lines, beginning,

> This world is not for aye ; nor 'tis not strange
> That even our loves should with our fortunes change,

deal with changes of love, and the subject at first seems appropriate to the Queen. But the method of treatment is pointedly not so. Again, it suits the Player-Queen, not the real queen. The burden is, that love follows fortune. This hits off the lady, who having loved and lost one royal husband, is ready at short notice to take another. It does not touch what was rankling in Hamlet's mind—his mother's gross infidelity to her lord and king. Her falling off, her declining from her first gracious husband upon the wretch whose natural gifts were poor, is altogether a mystery, a terrible story; but at least her love had neither been lead nor mislead by fortune. The remaining four lines,

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[1] The violence of either grief or joy
Their own enactures with themselves destroy ;
Where joy most revels, grief doth most lament,
Grief joys, Joy grieves, on slender accident.

[2] This world is not for aye ; nor 'tis not strange
That even our loves should with our fortunes change,
For 'tis a question left us yet to prove,
Whether love lead fortune, or else fortune love.
The great man down, you mark, his favourite flies ;
The poor advanced makes friends of enemies.
And hitherto doth love on fortune tend ;
For who not needs shall never lack a friend ;
And who in want a hollow friend doth try
Directly seasons him his enemy.

> But orderly to end where I begun,—
> Our wills and fates do so contrary run,
> That our devices still are overthrown;
> Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own,

remind one of Hamlet himself, as I have said before, but do not apply to the Queen at all.

I find, then, nothing in all this passage to catch the conscience of the Queen, nothing with any special reference to her, and accordingly she is perfectly unmoved by it. When Hamlet, shortly after (but not immediately after) the Player-King's speech, asks the question, which Mr Seeley remarks upon, 'Madam, how like you this play?' the Queen entirely ignores the speech which Mr Seeley believes was inserted to affect her, but refers to what the Player-Queen has just pointedly said against second marriages, and with admirable self-possession answers simply, 'Methinks the lady doth protest too much.'

I am persuaded that if Hamlet, as Mr Seeley imagines, wrote his verses with the Queen in his mind, he would not have made them, when regarded with reference to her, so pointless and beside the mark.

The success of these lines at least was not such as to win Hamlet a fellowship in a cry of players, a point in my first paper which Mr Seeley lets go by, as he does also the intimation from Hamlet himself that his lines contained the torrent tempest and whirlwind of passion.

But it is indeed remarkable how little the Queen is affected by the play; she is indeed thrown into a 'most great affliction of spirit,' and desires at once to see Hamlet in her closet, but it is entirely upon her husband's account; she is troubled because Hamlet has so much offended him, and is prepared to scold him well, to 'tax him home,' for having done so. Then indeed Hamlet does arouse her conscience, and turns her eyes into her very soul, effecting at once easily directly and completely in this scene the very purpose that Mr Seeley supposes him to have ineffectually attempted just before by the round-about method of the play.

Mr Seeley, who at the commencement of his paper rather wishes to put on one side conjectural interpretations of Hamlet's character, nevertheless, towards its close, supports his choice of the passage we

are disputing about by the striking theory that the experiment of the play is a mere blind by which Hamlet hides from himself and Horatio that he does not intend to act at all, but will go on as he has begun, 'brooding interminably upon the frailty of his mother, the probable frailty of Ophelia, and the worthlessness of all women.'

In these last words a part seems to me substituted for the whole; deeply as Hamlet felt about his mother and Ophelia, he is much more than an injured son and a love-sick Romeo, in doubt of the fidelity of his Juliet, put together. His philosophical, speculative spirit would have survived both shocks, had not there weighed upon him that too heavy duty—and yet to his mind that religious duty—of revenge upon his uncle for the murder of his father. A horrible work for his tender, thoughtful, dreaming nature.

He was one troubled with thoughts that lie beyond the reaches of our souls, so accustomed to detach himself from his surroundings, that he could be bounded in a nutshell and count himself king of infinite space. He has an inward life of keen observation and subtle thought, apart from the life of loves, hates, fears, changes, duties, which he lives with others. He moves through the play, to my mind, like a being of a different world, tied indeed to that of his fellows by many links,—the most delightful of which had become the most painful,—but sympathizing with and trusting no one but Horatio, who belonged also to his other world of subtle, wide-reaching speculation.

Passage after passage—I need not quote—will occur to the student of Hamlet, in which he pauses even in the most exciting moments to generalize, to moralize, or even to note an observation. Coleridge says, "Hamlet's character is the prevalence of the abstracting and generalizing habit over the practical. He does not want courage, skill, will, or opportunity; but every incident sets him thinking; and it is curious, and at the same time strictly natural, that Hamlet, who all the play seems reason itself, should be impelled at last by mere accident to effect his object." Coleridge adds, "I have a smack of Hamlet myself, if I may say so."

I have but little more to add. Mr Seeley asks me to point out where I find that Hamlet's lines were to refer to the King's guilt. In

addition to the reasons already given, I may add this—that it is at the very moment when he has just commanded the play, in order, as every one admits, to catch the King, that he also proposes to add his lines; and why should we cast about for another purpose? Mr Seeley says that the play was already sufficiently pointed. So be it; but in Hamlet's state of excitement there would be nothing unnatural in his wishing to make assurance doubly sure.

The question whether his father's murder or his mother's misconduct is uppermost in Hamlet's mind I need not now enter upon; as I have endeavoured to show that the lines Mr Seeley contends for refer as little to the latter as to the former; but it is going somewhat far to say that 'before Hamlet *even suspected his uncle's guilt*,(!) before the appearance of the ghost, he is shown to us so much depressed as to think of suicide on account of his mother's levity.' He is certainly also shown to us as weighed down by his father's death, his grief does not 'seem', it 'is'; the very form of his father is vividly present to his mind's eye when speaking with Horatio, before he has heard of the apparition of the 'Spirit in arms.' Then his previously latent suspicions take form at once, he doubts 'some foul play,' and when the ghost is beginning the fearful revelation, Hamlet breaks in upon it with—

O my prophetic soul! mine uncle!

There is no doubt, however, that Mr Seeley is right when he says that his lines suit Hamlet's character better than any others in the sub-play. I go further, and say they describe Hamlet's character. How, then, do they come there? Hamlet had no object to attain by describing himself, but Shakspere had in describing Hamlet, and throughout the play he seems to seize every occasion to throw a needed light upon his enigmatical character. If, then, the sub-play ever really existed independently, 'extant' as Hamlet assures us it was, and 'writ in choice Italian,' Shakspere may have added this passage to elucidate the meaning of the larger play; or if it was all Shakspere's, written in imitation of such brief performances, he may have introduced the lines for the same purpose.

However, this difficulty comes not near my conscience, it does not touch my argument. I have not to defend all or any of the queer little play, so wordy and yet so brief, with its short speeches and quick action. I need only say, if any one

> ——like not the comedy,
> Why then, belike, he likes it not, perdy.

Yours faithfully,
W. T. MALLESON.

IV. PROF. SEELEY'S FINAL REMARKS.

I MUST add one or two words before the controversy is closed.

First, I hope Shaksperian students will not forget what Mr Malleson has pointed out in his first paper; namely, that Shakspere did not mean us to think of Hamlet's intention to insert a dozen or sixteen lines as a mere passing fancy, that it is this inserted speech which Hamlet has in view when he gives his celebrated instruction to the players, and that therefore, unless something strange has happened to the play, the insertion clearly ought to be discoverable.

Unless, then, we suppose an alteration of the play to have taken place in which the insertion has disappeared, while all that leads us to expect the insertion has by some unaccountable negligence been allowed to stand, we have to choose between my view and Mr Malleson's, for I do not think any third can be suggested.

I have urged against Mr Malleson's view that the speech he chooses cannot be removed without affecting the action of the play, and therefore has not the character of an insertion. Mr Malleson now answers that Hamlet "may have inserted his lines in substitution for others which he struck out;" but I submit that this is an unnatural interpretation of the words, and that, at least, a passage plainly removable answers Hamlet's description much better than one which is not.

It may be urged—Mr Malleson seems half-inclined to urge it—that I am bound to mark exactly the beginning and end of the passage which I consider to be the insertion. As I have said, there

is no difficulty in omitting a good long passage from the middle of the player-king's speech, and this is actually done now at the *Lyceum;* for, I take it, the length of that speech will always seem intolerable to actors who do not see the importance of it; but I admit that the omission might be made in two or three different ways, and that I do not profess to know for certain which is the true way. I hardly think that Shakspere knew himself. When he came to compose the speech I imagine he said to himself: 'it must commence with a general text, which is to be considered as belonging to the original play, "what we do determine oft we break;" then must follow Hamlet's sermon upon it.' But, as Shakspere was in reality author of both text and sermon, he wove them together so much, that, though I think he left it quite clear that Hamlet's copy of verses is here, yet he did not make it possible to say with absolute certainty where it begins. I believe that any one who tried in this way to write a poetical speech with a *mock-insertion* in it would be almost sure to make the join not quite distinct enough.

Mr Malleson accuses me of letting go by his observation that Hamlet declares that the success of his lines might "win him a fellowship in a cry of players." But it is a mere guess of Mr Malleson's that Hamlet is speaking of the success of his inserted lines and not of that of the play in general. If a player were the same thing as a dramatic writer I should think the guess plausible. A player might, no doubt, as in Shakspere's own case, write verses, but it was not *as a player* that he did so. Hamlet considers his success to be that of a player, not that of a poet. I cannot see, then, that in this passage there is any reference whatever to the inserted lines. Hamlet boasts that he has selected a play so happily, and brought it out with such success, as to show a genius for the business of a manager.

Again, Mr Malleson accuses me of leaving unanswered his observation that, according to the instructions to the players these lines "contained the torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion," whereas the lines I point to are not passionate, but meditative.

I quite admit that Hamlet's instructions suggest a speech that is in some sense passionate, but any one who reads those instructions will see that Hamlet is taking the occasion of a particular speech to

give a general lecture on the art of elocution. He is speaking generally of the way in which passion should be expressed, and he says that, even where it is most intense, there should be a temperance or smoothness in the rendering of it. This remark is evidently suggested by a passionate speech, but it may easily be supposed to go beyond the speech that suggested it, and to contemplate much higher degrees of passion than are to be found there. But I believe also that the generalities about feebleness of purpose which strike Mr Malleson as not passionate, seemed to Hamlet very much so, and that he would have wished to hear those lines recited with a kind of despairing melancholy. For Hamlet's mind runs on generalities of this kind, and they inspire him with feelings so strong as to approach madness. It is the *Weltschmerz* of Werther and Faust.

Again, Mr Malleson urges that if Hamlet's object was to catch the conscience of the queen he certainly does not succeed, for the queen keeps her self-possession perfectly. This shows me that I have not succeeded in explaining what my view is. Mr Malleson evidently thinks that I wish to maintain that Hamlet's object in the play is really to catch the conscience of the queen, and only ostensibly to catch the conscience of the king. Not at all. I hold that his object is just what he professes that it is, and that when he triumphs so loudly and boasts of deserving a fellowship in a cry of players, it is because he has succeeded in this object, that is, has caught the conscience of the king. But for this purpose no insertion was needed; the play itself did its own work. The notion that the play required to be altered to make it suit the circumstances more exactly is not supported by anything in Shakspere. Prosaically, no doubt, it is true; that is, it is not likely that a play could be found so minutely corresponding to the facts of the king's murder; but what was the use of calling attention to a mere difficulty of detail, which the reader could safely be left to overcome in his imagination as he pleased? My view, then, is that the insertion has a different object, and is introduced to tell us something about Hamlet that we should not have known so well otherwise. Is this object, then, to catch the conscience of the queen? Not exactly; I should not express it so; I do not imagine that Hamlet was disappointed when he saw that

the queen remained undisturbed. But we have seen Hamlet from the beginning of the play brooding over his mother's conduct. A quantity of reflection on the subject of inconstancy, feebleness of purpose, &c., has been accumulating in his mind. He is a person of a literary turn, given to reading, to writing verses, to thinking about the drama. I imagine, then, that when he has hit upon the happy compromise between his public duty and his private taste which the play offers, he thinks with great delight of the opportunity it affords him of relieving himself of the weight of feeling that has been oppressing him so long by putting it into verse. He will write a poem on his mother, and insert it in the play. It may not produce much effect on her when she hears it; indeed, he probably knows too well already how unimpressionable she is; but his object will be gained if he only writes it, for it will be a relief to his feelings. And if Hamlet's object will be gained, still more will Shakspere's. For he will have at the same time thrown new light on the dreamy, unpractical character of Hamlet, and made us aware of the private train of thought which Hamlet is pursuing all the while that he professes to be intent upon detecting his uncle's guilt.

But Mr Malleson says the speech I point to is not a description of Hamlet's mother, but of himself. He says, "The eight lines from 'Purpose is but the slave to memory' describe feebleness and vacillation of purpose. What men propose to themselves under the influence of passion they forget when the passion is over, and do not execute. Where in Hamlet's mother do we find this feeble vacillation?" We find it surely in the fact that, having loved Hamlet's father, she allowed her affections to be drawn away by the contemptible uncle. Read Hamlet's first soliloquy. It all turns on the incredible levity and fickleness of his mother. Mr Malleson's point seems to be, that the revelation of the ghost must have changed his view, for the ghost seems to say that the queen had been unfaithful to her husband in his lifetime, so that Hamlet ought now to charge her, not with mere vacillation, but with actual sin and breach of marriage faith. But this does not affect the fact that she had displayed 'feeble vacillation;' only it shows that the vacillation had appeared earlier than Hamlet knew, and had gone further. He

might dwell upon her feebleness or her sin, as either might happen to strike him most forcibly, for in her conduct there was both. But as a matter of fact he is most struck by her feebleness, and this even after the ghost's revelations. We see this from the language he holds in his interview with his mother. So little does he say to his mother about actual sin or breach of faith, that one might read that whole Scene, as, in fact, I for a long time did, without discovering, what I now think is clear from the language of the ghost, that she had done anything worse than take up with a contemptible husband after having lost a noble one. It is true, Hamlet begins by charging her with being guilty of a monstrous crime, but when he comes to say what it is, we find not a word about breach of faith, violation of the marriage vow; he simply presses upon her the revolting contrast between her two husbands, and asks how she could have eyes to tolerate her second after her first. Now, it is evident that from the purely moral point of view the comparative merits of the two men do not concern the matter, and yet Hamlet's language is such as almost to imply that if they had presented themselves to her in the reverse order, her conduct would have been as admirable as it was disgraceful. I point out this to show, that if the speech in the sub-play is on vacillation, and not on adultery or hypocrisy, it suits all the better with the tenour of Hamlet's reflections on his mother's conduct, for it is on vacillation that he harps, both in his first soliloquy and also in the interview with his mother after he has learnt all that the ghost has to tell.

In Mr Malleson's assertion that the lines describe Hamlet's own character, there is no doubt a grain of truth. Hamlet cannot describe a vacillating character without in some degree describing his own; and it is quite in his vein of moralizing to say, "We are all such weaklings and I am one myself!" But in the first instance the speech refers to Hamlet's mother, not to Hamlet himself, for it refers to a wife tempted to marry again, and Hamlet was not such a person.

I think I have now answered all Mr Malleson's objections. I only wish to add, that whatever may be the truth about the "dozen or sixteen lines," I am strongly of opinion that critics have not

sufficiently understood the true nature of the retarding influence in the play of Hamlet. Hamlet is made irresolute, not merely by his natural character, but by the intense pre-occupation of his mind by the subject of his mother. He himself excuses his delay by *passion*—"Who lapsed in time and *passion*, lets go by The important acting of your dread command." Critics, it seems to me, have not understood the full importance of the lines of the Ghost at the beginning of the play:—

> "But howsoever thou pursu'st this act,
> Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
> Against thy *mother* aught."

The early critics noticed the nobleness of the passage; but to see the importance of it, we must compare it with what happens at Hamlet's interview with his mother. There the Ghost appears again. What can be the meaning of such a startling incident? He says, "The visitation is but to whet thine almost blunted purpose." But the reason evidently is, because Hamlet is forgetting the former admonition. His rage against his mother is passing all bounds. And to make this plainer, Shakspere has carefully contrasted it with his behaviour towards the uncle. Two scenes are put side by side. In the first Hamlet overhears his uncle's soliloquy; in the second he talks to his mother. In the first his irresolution overpowers him. He loses his opportunity through a scruple which would be utterly monstrous if it were not evidently artificial. In the second he rises to a height of passion which we should not have thought belonged to his nature, and actually startles the dead king from his grave to watch over the wife he still remembers with tenderness.

Between these two appearances of the Ghost, Shakspere's contrivance to show us the pre-occupation of Hamlet's mind with his mother, is the story of his behaviour to Ophelia. I agree with Mr Malleson in the explanation he gives of the coarseness of Hamlet's language to her. But the same explanation applies, not to that scene only, but to all the scenes between Hamlet and Ophelia. Hamlet has generalized in his fashion from the conduct of his mother to that of all women, and so casts Ophelia off. But more is wanted; in fact, when we consider how little all this has actually been understood, we see that much more was wanted.

The contrivance, then, of "the dozen or sixteen lines" was not superfluous. In the lively satire of the conversation with the players and in the tumult of the play-scene there was danger that we should forget what Hamlet's mind is really brooding over. This danger could only be avoided by giving additional importance to that part of the sub-play which concerned the queen. This is done by the insertion. That that insertion should refer to the queen, and not the king, seems, I know, to most persons *prima facie* improbable, but I believe that if they will begin by weighing what I have urged as to the real nature of the retarding influence in this play they will see that the *prima facie* probability is in favour of it.

MR FURNIVALL:—It seems to me that technically Professor Seeley's position is very strong; but that 'on the merits' he breaks down: he has a capital case at Law, but none in Equity. After he first put the inserted-speech point to me, in the course of a long afternoon's walk in the country, I was able to pick out the lines in the Player-King's, Speech, not because they had much to do with the Queen or King, but because they describd—as Prof. Seeley told me they did—the character of Hamlet. On further consideration, I cannot resist Mr Malleson's argument that Hamlet's inserted speech is the *one* speech in which he tells Horatio the King's occulted guilt is to unkennel itself. To me, at any rate, fair criticism requires the identification of the two. But I hold very strongly that Lucianus's speech, "Thoughts black," &c., is not this speech; and that, in fact, the speech is not in the printed play. Either the King's conscience was more quickly stung than Hamlet anticipated,—that is, than Shakspere meant it to be before he got to the scene,—and so the written speech was never needed; or, (as Mr Matthew has suggested) Shakspere contented himself with showing us (or letting us assume) that Hamlet alterd the Play, and put his "dozen or sixteen lines" into action instead of words. Hamlet at first resolvd to "have these players play *something like* the murder of my father before mine uncle." Then he made them play a play *exactly like* the murder; and took credit to himself for the whole affair: "would not this get me a fellowship in a cry of players?" If he hadn't modified the play, if it had been all —like its *story*—really extant in choice Italian, what credit could Shakspere have claimd for himself as a play-writer or adapter?

The inconsistency of Shakspere's having made Hamlet first talk so much about inserting one speech, and then having afterwards left it out, doesn't trouble me in the least. It's just what one might fairly

expect in the recast *Hamlet*, after its really startling inconsistencies in far more important matters, 1. as to Hamlet's age, and 2. as to Ophelia's suicide. We know how early, in olden time, young men of rank were put to arms; how early, if they went to a University, they left it, for training in Camp and Court. Hamlet, at a University, could hardly have passt 20; and with this age, the plain mention of his "youth of primy nature" (I. iii. 7), and "nature crescent, . . not . . alone in thews and bulk" (I. iii. 11-12), "Lord Hamlet . . he is young" (I. iii. 123-4), &c., by Polonius and Laertes, agrees.

With this, too, agrees the King's reproach to Hamlet for his "intent in going back to school at Wittemberg;" and Hamlet's own revolt-of-nature at his mother's quick re-marriage to his uncle. Had he been much past 21, and had more experience of then women, he'd have taken his mother's changeableness more coolly. I look on it as certain, that when Shakspere began the play he conceivd Hamlet as quite a young man. But as the play grew, as greater weight of reflection, of insight into character, of knowledge of life, &c., were wanted, Shakspere necessarily and naturally made Hamlet a formd man; and, by the time that he got to the Gravediggers' scene, told us the Prince was 30—the right age for him then: but not his age to Laertes and Polonius when they warnd Ophelia against his blood that burnd, his youthful fancy for her—'a toy in blood'—&c. The two parts of the play *are* inconsistent on this main point in Hamlet's state. What matter? Who wants 'em made consistent by the modification of either part? The 'thirty' is not in the first Quarto: yet no one wants to go back to that.

2. As Mason notic't with regard to Ophelia's death, "there is not a single circumstance in the relation [by the Queen] of Ophelia's death, that induces us to think she had drowned herself intentionally" (*Variorum*, vii. 460); on the contrary, we are expressly told that the branch (sliver) broke, and she fell in. Yet directly afterwards (V. i.) we are told that she sought her death 'wilfully', "did with desperate hand fordo [her] own life"; the priest declares her death was doubtful, buries her with maimed rites only by the express command of the King, and says that, but for this command, she'd have been buried in ground unsanctified (in 'the open fieldes', Q1). After inconsistencies like these—and there may be others in the play—what can it matter whether an actual speech of a dozen or sixteen lines, though often announct, is really in the play or not? The comparative insignificance of the point is shown by no one having noted it in print before Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke.[1] But while I say 'comparative insignificance,' I only use this phrase to lessen any wonderer's surprise at my conclusion that Shakspere should have left the speech out, or turnd his propos'd insertion into a more important adaptation of the play. I do *not* think Prof. Seeley's bringing the question before us at all

[1] Note the funny *lucus a non lucendo* reason given by these editors for the insertion of the lines.

insignificant: the point is a capital one, just suited for us. I accept it thankfully as a reproach for having read Hamlet so carelessly before; and, as formerly,—when Prof. Seeley identified, for the first time, Chaucer's Plowman with him of William's *Vision*,—I gladly acknowledge the freshness of his view, the keenness and penetration of his mind, and thank *him* heartily for raising the question, and Mr Malleson for showing such good cause against his conclusions.

Mr Richard Simpson, who could not come to our Meeting, has sent me the following letter :—

MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

I think that there is no warrant for assuming that the lines announced by Hamlet are to be supposed to exist in the sub-play at all. The whole subject of these sub-plays should be examined into. It is clear that the necessity for abbreviation will not allow them to contain all the elements of a play, any more than an historical drama can contain all the events of a reign. And as the historical drama takes for granted those events which are made known by previous allusions, so the sub-play generally omits all those details which have been previously described or alluded to. Let me refer to two dramas where sub-plays are introduced after previous preparation. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* we have not only the play as presented before Theseus, but a previous rehearsal of it in Act iii. sc. 1. The lines there rehearsed are totally different from any that come in the play ultimately acted. Again, in the *Histriomastix*, the play of the *Prodigal Son*, acted in the late portion of the drama, is preceded by the poet's reading it over to the actors in an earlier scene. Not a passage in these two presentations of the same piece agrees. The announcement and expectations raised by the first recital are not fulfilled in the event.

Again, when a play, imagined to be some thousand lines long, is compressed into about 70, a speech of a dozen or sixteen lines in it shrinks, by proportion, into about five words.

Looking both at the practice of the Elizabethan dramatists, and at the previous likelihoods of the case, I see no reason whatever for expecting to find that Shakspere would have put into the sub-play the dozen lines which he makes Hamlet promise. At the end Hamlet exults over his success as if the whole play had been his own adaptation. I don't believe that the poet ever meant us to pick out a bit, and say, This is the plum contributed by Hamlet himself.

R. SIMPSON.

DR BRINSLEY NICHOLSON: My spoken remarks are here put forth in somewhat better shape, both because each theorist has since insisted very strongly on his own peculiar views, and because I did not *ex improviso* bring out as I had wished what I take to be the intent and significance of the advice-to-the-players-speech.

Both theories appear to take it for granted that the sub-play is a real play and not Shakspere's. The ring-poesie prologue, the short speeches, the absence of any second plot, and of any but the main actors of the main plot, the directness with which the plot is opened, and the occurrence of the chief catastrophe within a few minutes from the drawing of the curtain, all show that the play is the abridgement of an abridgement manufactured for the occasion. That it is Shakspere's is also shown by every speech in it, and his art is distinctly manifested in the way in which in so little space he has contrived in Gonzago's speech to open out to us Hamlet's thoughts and character, and state in brief that moral of the main play which Hamlet's character is meant to set forth.

"Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own"

is merely a variant of Hamlet's own phrase,

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends",

and both express one of the main ideas of the play. If the sub-play be stilted and artificial, it is so made on the principle that leads a painter to paint a picture within a picture rudely and artificially, namely, that his own presentment may appear more true and life-like.

But, it is said, Hamlet is represented as writing a speech for the set purpose of more surely catching the conscience of the king. True, and sufficient artistic reasons can be given for this. First, if it were not necessary that Hamlet should rush into action, yet any one in his position would for naturalness' sake be represented as trying to make assurance doubly sure. Secondly, in the feverish activity into which Hamlet is roused, it is a necessity that he should do somewhat. Were he not, this, looked at by his character elsewhere, would have been a grievous flaw in Shakspere's delineation of him, and this side or indirect, and literary and, as it were, meditative action is that most in keeping. Thirdly, as it tended to destroy the audiĕnce' belief in the Hamlet story, that there should be a play so exactly similar in plot, and manner and place and rewards of poisoning ;—as the Gonzago play would tend to mar the reality of the Hamlet play, and the Hamlet play would give rise to the belief that the Gonzago play was evolved to order—the double result of coincidence was avoided by making Hamlet appear as an adapter. This, it will be observed, does not trench or in any way depend on the question whether any tragedy of 'The Murder of Gonzago' really existed. That there was such a tragedy is a perfectly gratuitous assumption; but if there were, then Hamlet's expressed intent would bring out more forcibly the difference between the real tragedy and—not Hamlet's—but Shakspere's sub-play adaptation. That the audience knew Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* only makes Hieronimo's use of the story as a sub-play and bringer about of the catastrophe in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* the more natural.

Again, it will be said, admitting these artistic reasons, there still remains the fact that Hamlet is represented as writing. But the artistic

reasons being allowed, what reason is there for Hamlet's writing when Shakspere had the whole intent of the sub-play in his mind's eye, and the whole making of it in his own hands? Admit the play to be Shakspere's, and admit the reasons for his manner of introducing the play, and the whole *raison d'être* of Hamlet's intent appears, and the whole *raison d'être* for there being any such speech disappears. And here comes in fitly and with force Mr R. Simpson's acute remark that the description of these sub-plays never answers to their performance. Not a word spoken in the rehearsal scene in *Histriomastix* is spoken in the acted play, neither is there a word of Bottom and Co.'s rehearsal spoken in the *Pyramus and Thisbe* presented before Theseus and his bride.

Lastly, it may be said, that in proof of the existence of a Hamlet speech it is again pointedly referred to in Hamlet's advice to the players. This is true, and I am content that the question be decided by this advice. Where in the sub-play is the clown, so animadverted on by Hamlet? Or if it be said, this latter part of the advice is a digression into which, as usual, his subject carries him, I ask where, after the very first words—"Speak the speech, I pray you, trippingly on the tongue," where is the town-crier speech, where the speech requiring "a sawing of the air thus"—where the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion—where the robustious periwig-pated fellow tearing his passion to tatters—where the o'erdoing Termagant and out-heroding Herod? The very speech relied on declares in its opening words, as well as in its closing ones, that it cannot refer to any speech in the sub-play.

Why then was it introduced? Not simply to keep up the *vraisemblance* of the whole contrivance. This was a secondary aim; but its true *raison d'être* is, that Shakspere had something to say on plays and play-acting which he would not leave unsaid, and took or made this opportunity of saying it. Just as Hamlet represents a phase in Shakspere's life and character more individually than any other of his characters, so nowhere—unless where he refers to the luces,—does he, so to speak, break forth as in *Hamlet*. Thus we have the outbreak on the tragedians of the city and cry of children. For myself, I have little doubt that there is a reference or references to Jonson, to whom in 1601 or -2, he had administered a famous dose. And none can read the diatribe against clowns in the first Quarto, without perceiving that Shakspere is speaking with personal anger and bitterness against some particular actor, Kemp, or some other. Very possibly also there are in the rest of the advice special hits which were to his then audience palpable enough. But there is more, and as I take it, a rising above these squabbles, and whether Shakspere followed the changing taste of the day, or went against it, or led it, I hold this speech to be his definite protest against the unnaturalness and stilt and rant of the Tamburlaine style of plays where Marlow was imitated,—but not his poetry,—and against the artificiality

and rant of the actors who played in them. *Hamlet* is the first of Shakspere's greatest dramas, and he then, so to express it, found himself, and this speech is the outcome of some of his maturing thoughts. In it are the suggesting thoughts that led him to give up the more poetic and fanciful treatment of his subjects observable in the *Midsummer Night's Dream,* and *Romeo and Juliet*, and what Mr Hales well calls the rhetorical style of *Henry V.* (and *Julius Cæsar*), together with the more heroic-ryme-like verse suited to these styles, in order to make his mirrors to nature not only more like flesh and blood, but think and speak more like those on the stage of the world. In one word, this speech is Shakspere's own indication of his aims in the future manipulation of his thoughts and mode of expressing them.[1]

[1] I have since come across the following :—"The play, acted by the players before the King, is at first in a bad and antiquated style. I thought it might be really taken from an old play ; but it is impossible he could have lit upon a composition which [so ?] suited his purpose ; and in the last speech but one there is a resemblance to Shakespeare's fancies, about grief, love, etc., and elsewhere to his words ; and great neatness and care in the composition. It is all in rhyme. I do not see symptoms of the lines which Hamlet was to insert."—*C. Bathurst's Remarks on Shakespeare's Versification,* 1857, p. 70.

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